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THE SABOTAGE PLANS AND POTENTIAL OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

INTRODUCTION i

SABOTAGE 1

  Sabotage Defined 1
  Methods of Sabotage 3
  Availability of Material for Sabotage Purposes 5
  Accessibility of Sabotage Targets 5
  Recognition of Sabotage 7
  Conclusion 8

SABOTAGE PLANS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, USA ... 9

SABOTAGE POTENTIALITIES OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, USA 17

  Ideological Motivation 17
  Organization Adaptability 20
  Communist Party Membership 21
  Nonphysical Sabotage 24
  Strikes and Slowdowns 25
  Other Types of Nonphysical Sabotage 35

ROLE OF THE SOVIET UNION 39

FACTORS LIMITING THE SABOTAGE POTENTIAL OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, USA 48

CONCLUSION 50

BIBLIOGRAPHY 52

INTRODUCTION

During the last century nations at war with one another have used sabotage on an increasing scale. It has come to be universally accepted as one of the most effective weapons for destroying a nation's capacity to defend itself. Successful sabotage not only stops the flow of essential war material to the armed forces but also weakens the civilian will to resist.

In the last World War the damage caused by sabotage in the United States was relatively slight, nor was there any indication of foreign-directed sabotage in this country. At that time, however, the United States and Russia were allied against a common enemy, a factor which permitted the Communist Party, USA, to cooperate, temporarily, with our country's war effort.

At the present time the world Communist movement brands the United States as the leader of the "imperialist camp" which is attempting to provoke a war against the "peace camp" headed by the Soviet Union. The Communist Party, USA, which considers the Soviet Union as its true "fatherland" has, therefore, been required to adopt a different tactical approach to conform to this "new historical situation." The deterioration in international relations between the United States and the Soviet Union since 1945 has been accompanied by the increased opposition of the Communist Party, USA, to every aspect of our foreign and domestic policy aimed at strengthening the United States against Soviet aggression.

This study represents an attempt to evaluate, from the viewpoint of its sabotage plans and potential, the threat which the Communist Party, USA, would present to our nation in the event of an outbreak of hostilities with the Soviet Union.

SABOTAGE

The following general observations on the question of sabotage have been included, not only to provide a suitable background for the remaining portion of this monograph, but also to highlight the sabotage threat posed by the Communist Party, USA, by indicating the many and varied aspects of this problem.

Sabotage Defined

The United States Code, Title 18, Sections 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156 and 2157, defines sabotage in the following manner:

> Section 2152. "Whoever willfully trespasses upon, injures, or destroys any of the works or property or material of any submarine mine or torpedo or fortification or harbor-defense system owned or constructed or in process of construction by the United States; or
>
> "Whoever willfully interferes with the operation or use of any such submarine mine, torpedo, fortification, or harbor defense system; or
>
> "Whoever knowingly, willfully, or wantonly violates any duly authorized and promulgated order or regulation of the President governing persons or vessels within the limits of defensive sea areas, which the President, for purposes of national defense, may from time to time establish by executive order --
>
> "Shall be fined not more than $5,000 or imprisoned not more than five years, or both...."
>
> Section 2153. "...Whoever, when the United States is at war, with intent to injure, interfere with, or obstruct the United States or any associate nation in preparing for or carrying on the war or defense activities, or, with reason to believe that his act may injure, interfere with, or obstruct the United States or any associate nation in preparing for or carrying on the war

or defense activities, willfully injures or destroys, or attempts to so injure or destroy, any war material, war premises, or war utilities, shall be fined not more than $10,000 or imprisoned not more than thirty years, or both...."*

Section 2154. "...Whoever, when the United States is at war, with intent to injure, interfere with, or obstruct the United States or any associate nation in preparing for or carrying on the war or defense activities, or, with reason to believe that his act may injure, interfere with, or obstruct the United States or any associate nation in preparing for or carrying on the war or defense activities, willfully makes or causes to be made in a defective manner, or attempts to make or cause to be made in a defective manner any war material, or any tool, implement, machine, utensil, or receptacle used or employed in making, producing, manufacturing, or repairing any such war material, shall be fined not more than $10,000 or imprisoned not more than thirty years, or both...."*

Section 2155. "Whoever, with intent to injure, interfere with, or obstruct the national defense of the United States, willfully injures, or destroys, or attempts to so injure or destroy, any national-defense material, national-defense premises, or national-defense utilities, shall be fined not more than $10,000 or imprisoned not more than ten years, or both...."

Section 2156. "Whoever, with intent to injure, interfere with, or obstruct the national defense of the United States, willfully makes or attempts to make in a defective manner, any national-defense material, or any tool, implement, machine, utensil, or receptacle used or employed in making, producing, manufacturing, or repairing any such national-defense material, shall be fined not more than $10,000 or imprisoned not more than ten years, or both...."

*Public Law 99 -- 83rd Congress (Title 18, Section 2157, U.S.C.), approved June 30, 1953, provides that Sections 2153 and 2154 shall remain "in full force and effect" during the current national emergency, proclaimed December 16, 1950, and for six months thereafter "or such earlier date as may be prescribed by concurrent resolution of the Congress..."

Sections 2153 and 2154 also include a conspiracy provision.

In addition to the provisions of the sabotage statute, Public Law 831, Section 21 (Internal Security Act of 1950) provides that

(a) "Whoever willfully shall violate any such regulation or order as, pursuant to lawful authority, shall be or has been promulgate or approved by the Secretary of Defense, or by any military commander designated by the Secretary of Defense, or by the Director of the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics, for the protection or security of military or naval aircraft, airports, airport facilities, vessels, harbors, ports, piers, water-front facilities, bases, forts, posts, laboratories, stations, vehicles, equipment, explosives or other property or places subject to the jurisdiction, administration, or in the custody of the Department of Defense, any Department or agency of which said Department consists; or any officer or employee of said Department or agency, or of the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics or any officer or employee thereof, relating to fire hazards, fire protection, lighting, machinery, guard service, disrepair, disuse, or other unsatisfactory conditions thereon, or the ingress thereto or egress or removal of persons therefrom, or otherwise providing for safeguarding the same against destruction, loss, or injury by accident or by enemy action, sabotage, or other subversive actions, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be liable to a fine of not to exceed $5,000 or to imprisonment for not more than one year, or both.

(b) "Every such regulation or order shall be posted in conspicuous and appropriate places."

Methods of Sabotage

The principal methods of sabotage include arson, explosives, mechanical means, chemicals and bacteria.

Sabotage by arson can be committed by the application of matches, candles or any other source of flame, either directly or through the use of delaying devices. Electrical equipment can be used by a saboteur to ignite a fire by deliberately causing short circuits, disconnecting grounding devices or merely allowing electrical appliances to overheat. The numerous highly inflammable chemical combinations offer almost limitless possibilities for arson.

Sabotage by explosives would normally be used when the total and immediate destruction of the sabotage target is required. Explosives are generally typed as either low explosives, which burn or deflagrate, the burning of one particle igniting the next (e.g., black powder, smokeless powder) or high explosives which detonate i.e., which are activated by shock rather than by flame (e.g., dynamite, TNT, nitroglycerine).

Sabotage by mechanical means would include such methods as deliberate breakage, neglect causing deterioration, mechanical maladjustment and the addition of foreign substances which are harmful to certain types of machinery.

Sabotage by chemicals and bacteria could be accomplished by the introduction of poisons or bacteria into food and water supplies or their dispersion through ventilating systems thus producing conditions which would make essential human labor impossible or extremely difficult.

Availability of Material for Sabotage Purposes

The acquisition of material for sabotage purposes poses no problem. Matches and inflammable products, e.g., gasoline, kerosene, etc., are readily available. Many of the chemicals required for incendiary purposes can be purchased from ordinary drugstores. Both high and low velocity explosives are available to a potential saboteur with comparatively little difficulty due to their commercial use. Water, syrup, molasses, honey, oil, sand, abrasives and acids can all be utilized for mechanical sabotage. Various poisonous chemicals can also be obtained from several sources without undue difficulty.

Simple, but nonetheless effective, delaying devices can be made from such common household articles as candles, rope, alarm clocks, mousetraps and magnifying glasses.

Accessibility of Sabotage Targets

The problem of sabotage is complicated even further by the fact that so many potential sabotage targets are accessible to the average citizen during the course of his daily life. Since this point is best illustrated by the legal designation of what constitutes "war material," "war premises," and "war utilities," Section 2151 of Title 18, United States Code,* is being set forth:

> "The words 'war material' include arms, armament, ammunition, livestock, forage, forest products and standing timber, stores of

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*As amended by Public Law 99 -- 83rd Congress (Title 18, Section 2157, U.S.C), approved June 30, 1953.

> clothing, food, foodstuffs, fuel, supplies, munitions, and all articles, parts or ingredients, intended for, adapted to, or suitable for the use of the United States or any associate nation, in connection with the conduct of war or defense activities.
>
> "The words 'war premises' include all buildings, grounds, mines, or other places wherein such war material is being produced, manufactured, repaired, stored, mined, extracted, distributed, loaded, unloaded, or transported, together with all machinery and appliances therein contained; and all forts, arsenals, navy yards, camps, prisons, or other military or naval stations of the United States, or any associate nation.
>
> "The words 'war utilities' include all railroads, railways, electric lines, roads of whatever description, any railroad or railway fixture, canal, lock, dam, wharf, pier, dock, bridge, building, structure, engine, machine, mechanical contrivance, car, vehicle, boat, or aircraft, or any other means of transportation whatsoever, whereon or whereby such war material or any troops of the United States, or of any associate nation, are being or may be transported either within the limits of the United States or upon the high seas; and all dams, reservoirs, aqueducts, water and gas mains and pipes, structures and buildings, whereby or in connection with which water or gas is being furnished, or may be furnished, to any war premises or to the military or naval forces of the United States, or any associate nation, and all electric light and power, steam or pneumatic power, telephone and telegraph plants, poles, wires, and fixtures and wireless stations, and the buildings connected with the maintenance and operation thereof used to supply water, light, heat, power, or facilities of communication to any war premises or to the military or naval forces of the United States, or any associate nation.
>
> "The words 'associate nation' mean any nation at war with any nation with which the United States is at war."

The United States Code, Title 18, Section 2151, defines "national-defense" material, premises and utilities as similar to "war" material, premises and utilities.

As can be readily seen from these explanations of the above terms, the number of sabotage targets is almost limitless. They are also dispersed geographically throughout the entire nation. In the event of a national emergency it would be obviously difficult to provide adequate security for even a small fraction of them. In addition, many likely sabotage targets are, and in fact must be, accessible to the average citizen during the course of his daily life. It would be manifestly impossible to inspect every individual or automobile using the tunnels and bridges connecting the boroughs of New York, New York, or New York with New Jersey. Similarly, even a small portion of the railroad tracks or most important highways in our country could not be patrolled with any degree of effectiveness.

Recognition of Sabotage

At times even the recognition of an act of sabotage as such is extremely difficult. Deliberate breakage or neglect can often be disguised as an unintentional accident. Chemicals which can be used for arson are often consumed by the intense heat they generate. Moreover, many chemicals both inflammable and poisonous are essential for normal manufacturing processes and their presence may not give rise to suspicion.

Frequently too, the ultimate aim of sabotage activity may not be readily apparent. Damage to a fertilizer plant, for example, would not ordinarily be considered as sabotage until it is realized that the nitrates it produces are necessary for the manufacture of gunpowder.

Conclusion

The almost infinite variety of methods by which sabotage can be attempted and the ready availability of so many materials for sabotage purposes mean that in many cases the potential saboteur will be limited only by his own ingenuity. In other cases the only factors which will determine the method of sabotage to be used will be such considerations as the construction of the sabotage target; the security precautions in effect; the amount of time available to the saboteur; the necessity of concealing the sabotage device prior to its use; its means of transportation to the sabotage target; and the necessity for concealing its traces after the sabotage has been attempted.

Over and above the comparative ease and wide variety of means by which sabotage can be attempted are the additional problems of the almost limitless number of sabotage targets; the impossibility of providing adequate security for a large number of them; the fact that many of them are, and must be, accessible to the average citizen; and the difficulty, in many cases, of recognizing an act of sabotage as such.

In the light of these general observations regarding the problem of sabotage, consideration will now be given to the sabotage plans of the Communist Party, USA, and its capabilities of effectively carrying out any such program.

SABOTAGE PLANS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

There is an abundance of documentary evidence indicating that the Communist Party, USA, will undoubtedly attempt to engage in systematic sabotage activities against the United States in the event of an outbreak of hostilities with the Soviet Union. The principle of turning "imperialist" wars into civil wars is a basic doctrine of Communism. The duty to "Defend the Soviet Union" is continually impressed upon party members by their leaders. The mutiny of the French sailors in the Black Sea in 1919, when they refused to fight against the newly formed Russian Communist government, is repeatedly cited by Communists as an example of "proletarian internationalism." The statements of the leaders of the Communist Parties of France and Italy in 1949 that they would support the Soviet Union rather than their own nations in the event of a war, were dutifully echoed by William Z. Foster, Chairman of the Communist Party, USA, when he wrote:

> "An American-Soviet war, which could only come as the supreme expression of American aggression, would be a thoroughly hated war. Obviously throughout the capitalist world the Communists would oppose such a war and so would the overwhelming masses of the peoples. In the face of that new war provacation, the North Atlantic Pact, the French and Italian Communist Parties have clearly stated their determination not to fight against the U.S.S.R. Our American Party has done likewise..." (1)

Stalin himself, in his last major speech in October, 1952, re-emphasized to Communist Parties throughout the world that:

> "...Our Party and our country (i.e., Russia - ed.) have always needed and shall need the trust, sympathy and support of the fraternal peoples (i.e., Communist Parties - ed.) abroad." (2)

In addition to this documentary evidence, confidential sources within the Communist Party, USA, have advised of the sabotage intentions of its members in the event of war with the Soviet Union.

However, in contrast to the abundance of evidence proving the intention of members of the Communist Party, USA, to attempt sabotage, there is a dearth of information regarding specific local targets which have been singled out by the Communist Party for possible sabotage activity. While at first sight this contrast may appear unusual, upon closer analysis the explanation becomes clear.

The Communist Party, USA, has perennially suffered from a high turnover in membership, even among its leaders. This turnover has been so great that it would be exceedingly foolhardy for the Party to permit any detailed or specific discussion of sabotage, even among its highest committees. The disclosure by a former Communist that the Party had detailed plans to sabotage specific factories, public works and defense installations would not only result in considerable adverse publicity but would probably lead to even stronger legal action against the Party than has been taken to date. Any disclosure, in advance, of specific sabotage plans would also serve to nullify their effectiveness by warning Federal and local authorities of the Party's intentions.

As a result, the question of sabotage activity against the United States is treated with extreme caution by the Party, even at meetings of its highest committees. Detailed and specific discussions of sabotage are discouraged and restricted to theoretical discussions of the need to turn "imperialist" wars into civil wars; to support only those wars which the Party considers "just"; and the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin dealing with revolutionary situations. In every such case, however, the implication is made obvious to Party members that every conceivable means must be used in an "unjust" war to bring about the defeat of "one's own country" and insure the victory of the Soviet Union. There is an evident expectation that every Communist, during an actual war with Russia, will use his own imagination and ingenuity to take advantage of any opportunity for sabotage which presents itself.

This does not mean that no statements by American Communists specifically urging sabotage in the event of a war with Russia have ever been reported. In 1949, a prominent Communist in New York told a meeting of the Queens County Communist Party that American military leaders would not consider instigating a war against Russia unless they were certain that the United States was secure, and that it was the duty of the Communist Party to make the United States insecure in the event of an outbreak of hostilities with the Soviet Union. In 1951, one of the leading Communists in Philadelphia stated that the Communist Party, USA, was attempting to place trusted members in key positions in machine, and tool and die shops as potential saboteurs.

While these and other similar statements by high-ranking Communists have at times been reported, they are exceptions to the policy of the Party of confining all discussions of sabotage to the realm of abstract theory. Such statements as these indicate the intention of the Party to attempt sabotage without indicating that specific local targets have been catalogued in detail at this time.

Much more typical was the reaction of a national functionary of the Communist Party who was addressing a Communist Party meeting in New Jersey in 1948. During the course of this meeting the question of sabotage arose and he was specifically asked: "What are we going to do in case of war, are we going to sabotage?" At this point the speaker became highly indignant and pointed out that the question should never have been asked since the meeting had been called to discuss "political issues."

At another Communist Party meeting, also in New Jersey in 1948, a national functionary of the Communist Party was asked to explain the position of the Party regarding its members working in factories where material which could be used for war was being produced. This official replied that the Communist Party definitely wanted its members to continue their employment in these plants so that they would be in contact with and in a position to influence their fellow workers. At this point, however, he stopped abruptly and stated that that was as far as he was prepared to go at that moment, clearly indicating to those present that what he left unsaid was sabotage.

There is another factor which helps to explain the lack of any detailed information regarding the sabotage plans of the Communist Party, USA. Since its organization in the United States in 1919, the Party has never been faced with a situation which called for the widespread use of sabotage tactics. From 1919 until the present time, the United States and Russia have never been engaged in a clear-cut war against one another. Nor has the political climate in the United States ever been so repressive to the Communist Party, USA, as was the case in Germany and Italy during the 1930s, that it would consider the use of systematic sabotage as necessary and justified. This, of course, eliminates any possibility of attempting to determine the sabotage plans of the Communist Party, USA, on the basis of similar activities in the past.

There is also the practical consideration that highly secret sabotage plans formulated by the Communist Party, USA, would have to be periodically revised as new public works and factories are constructed and as new scientific developments are perfected. Therefore, even if any detailed information regarding local specific sabotage plans of the Communist Party, USA, were available at the present time, it would be illogical to take for granted these plans are not subject to future change. Any such assumption would constitute a serious underestimation of the highly flexible and adaptable character of the Communist Party, USA.

The lack of detailed information regarding specific sabotage plans of the Communist Party, USA, is further explained by the general introductory remarks on the problem of sabotage which have been included. The wide variety of means by which sabotage can be attempted, the availability of so many different materials for sabotage purposes and the accessibility of so many obvious sabotage targets all serve to minimize the need for detailed planning and preparation.

For these reasons, it is not possible at this time to enumerate the specific local targets which have been singled out by the Communist Party, USA, for future sabotage. However, from the information furnished by reliable informants and from Communist literature it is possible to outline, in broad terms, the sabotage targets to which American Communists have given consideration.

It is known that American Communists have given careful thought to, and can be expected to single out, the following as sabotage targets in the United States in the event of a war with the Soviet Union:

(1) Transportation facilities;

(2) Communications systems;

(3) Basic or heavy industries;

(4) Power plants and transmission lines;

(5) Armed forces installations;

(6) Sources of food and water supplies.

The broad areas containing the largest number of likely sabotage targets are the East and West coasts and the Midwest industrial region, extending from the Great Lakes to the Atlantic seaboard.

There is, therefore, no known evidence that American Communists have been ordered to commit specific acts of sabotage at the present time, nor is it known that any sporadic sabotage is being currently attempted by individual Communists on their own initiative. However, from the theoretical principles which guide the activities of the world Communist movement; from statements of the leaders of the Communist Party, USA; and from highly confidential data furnished by reliable informants within the Party, it can be concluded definitely that, in the event of a war with the Soviet Union, the Communist Party, USA, would undoubtedly attempt widespread systematic sabotage activities directed against the war effort of the United States.

These activities can be expected to be conducted either separately or in conjunction with possible commando-type attacks of foreign saboteurs and soldiers. It is not unlikely that such joint efforts would, on occasion, be coordinated with mass bombing attacks on strategic industrial areas and vital coastline targets in this country.

The fact that the information available regarding the sabotage plans of the Communist Party, USA, is of a general rather than a specific nature, together with the great number of sabotage targets, serves to increase the danger which the Party poses to our nation.

SABOTAGE POTENTIALITIES OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

Ideological Motivation

During the last World War, England, Canada and our own nation were all targets for espionage activity conducted on behalf of the Soviet Union. The unique feature of this espionage activity was its motivation. Throughout prior history, espionage was ordinarily motivated by the loyalty of the agent to his own nation, the desire for financial gain or to prevent reprisals on the agent or his family. A prominent, common motivating factor in the espionage activity conducted on behalf of the Soviet Union during the last war, was the loyalty of the espionage agents to a foreign power, the Soviet Union. The entire world was thus furnished a vivid view of espionage motivated largely by what may be described as ideological reasons. In certain of these cases the individuals involved did not even wait to be contacted by Soviet espionage principals but took the initiative themselves by volunteering their services for espionage activity.

Early in 1946, the Canadian government appointed a Royal Commission to investigate wartime espionage activity in Canada, and in June of that year this group issued its report. The Canadian Royal Commission pointed out that "the most startling single aspect" of Soviet espionage activity was the "uncanny success" of Soviet agents in finding Canadian citizens "who were willing to betray their country...despite oaths of allegiance, of office, and of secrecy which they had taken." (3)

Commenting generally on the question of the motivation of these Canadian spies, the Royal Commission found that the motivating factor was "significant and...of great importance." More specifically, it categorically concluded that:

> "Membership in Communist organizations or a sympathy towards Communist ideologies was the primary force which caused these agents to do the acts referred to in their individual cases." (4)

The Royal Commission found "overwhelming" evidence that, in the case of these individuals, "their original motivation was a product of their political ideology and of the psychological conditioning received in the study-groups."* Elaborating on this process of "psychological conditioning," the Royal Commission noted that the general conspiratorial nature of the Communist Party eventually accustomed its members "to an atmosphere and an ethic of conspiracy...calculated to develop the psychology of a double life and double standards." One of the results of this dual life led by Communists "would seem to be the gradual disintegration of normal moral principles" which gave rise in some cases to "a gradual development of a sense of divided loyalties, or in extreme cases of a transferred loyalty." (5)

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*Secret meetings of the Labour-Progressive Party (Communist Party of Canada).

In its report, the Canadian Royal Commission also stated that the indoctrination furnished Canadian Communists by the Labour Progressive Party was "apparently intended...to instill in the mind of the adherent the view that loyalty and obedience to the leadership of this organization takes precedence over his loyalty to Canada, entitles him to disregard his oaths of allegiance and secrecy, and thus destroys his integrity as a citizen." (6)

The almost fanatical intensity of this ideological motivation may be seen from the ease with which the espionage agents were recruited, their complete lack of any remorse for their treasonable activities and the resignation with which they accepted the punishment imposed on them.

The activities of Communists in furthering their aims take many forms including, among others, distributing leaflets, soliciting contributions, instigating strikes, physical violence, espionage and sabotage. Although the form in which Communist activity is manifested frequently changes, the ideological motivation remains the constant dynamic force behind all Communist work.

While the inquiry of the Canadian Royal Commission was limited to wartime espionage activity in Canada, its conclusions are still applicable to the members of the Communist Party, USA, operating as saboteurs. It would be wishful thinking to assume that the ideological motivating factor which led Communists to betray their own nations in furtherance of Communism during the last world war has decreased in intensity. The only realistic assumption is that the vast majority of the current members of the Communist Party, USA, are completely dedicated and personally committed to furthering the Communist movement by any means possible, including sabotage.

Organizational Adaptability

The open organizational apparatus of the Communist Party, USA, extends into all states and territories and consists of thirty districts broken down into state, county, city, section and club organizations. For security reasons Communist Party clubs are now broken down further into groups consisting of from three to five members.

Paralleling this open apparatus, there is also in existence an elaborate Communist underground apparatus which, since 1948, has greatly increased in size. Since that time, numerous Communists have left their homes, their jobs, and in some instances their families. They have adopted aliases, altered their appearances, moved to different states and reconstructed their entire personal histories. Messages between members of the underground apparatus are transmitted by special couriers and personal contacts and meetings are held under the most extreme security precautions. The fact that these individuals have taken such extensive precautions to evade detection increases the threat which the Party would present to our country in the event of a war with the Soviet Union.

The importance of the Communist organizational apparatus was emphasized by the Canadian Royal Commission which found that:

> "...the Communist movement was the principal base within which the espionage network was recruited; and that it not only supplied personnel with adequately 'developed' motivation, but provided the organizational framework wherein recruiting could be and was carried out safely and efficiently." (7)

The existence of this dual organizational apparatus with its "adequately developed motivation" gives rise to the possibility of sabotage attempts by the Communist Party, USA, coordinated and synchronized on a nationwide scale.

Communist Party Membership

One of the results of the legal action taken by our government against the leaders of the Communist Party, USA, has been a reduction in its size to the point where it now totals an estimated 24,000 members. At the same time, however, it has also served to toughen and steel the remaining Party members in their loyalty and devotion to the Communist movement. Their mere membership in the Communist Party, USA, at the present time is believed sufficient justification to consider the majority of these individuals as potential saboteurs.

An analysis of the membership of the Communist Party, USA, discloses that a number of its principal officials attended the Lenin School in Moscow during the late 1920s and early 1930s where some received specialized training in street fighting, guerilla warfare and sabotage tactics. In 1939, Earl Browder, former General Secretary of the Communist Party, USA, testified before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities of the U. S. House of Representatives regarding the Lenin School. Browder testified that four or five percent of all the most important Party officials and, in addition, possibly as many as 150 rank-and-file members of the Communist Party, USA, had attended this school. Browder also admitted that, when these individuals returned to the United States, they passed on the training they had received at the Lenin School to other Communists.

Communists who fought in the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) also pose a special threat in relation to sabotage. Over 1, 500 American Communists served in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade during this war, thereby proving their willingness to engage in organized force and violence in order to promote the objectives of the world Communist movement. While in Spain, they received training in street fighting, the use of explosives and similar tactics essential in sabotage operations, as well as regular military training. Before leaving Spain to return home, they took a pledge to continue to advance the ideals which motivated them to fight in Spain, vowing:

> "We are returning to our respective countries not for celebrations in our honor, not to rest, but to continue the fight we helped to wage in Spain; we are merely changing the fronts and our weapons." (8)

In order to "continue the fight," those Communists who fought in Spain organized the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade* in 1940. From 1940 to the present time, this organization has consistently and militantly supported the policies of the Communist Party, USA.

In addition to those Communists who attended the Lenin School and participated in the Spanish Civil War, special consideration must be given to those who served in the Armed Forces of the United States during World War II, or who have otherwise received military training. According to the Communist Party, USA, approximately 15,000 of its members are veterans of the last World War, and while this total may be somewhat exaggerated, there can be no doubt of the sabotage potential of this group.

Many Communists throughout the country, both veterans and non-veterans, have been reliably reported to own their own pistols, rifles and shotguns. Significantly, the Daily People's World, a west coast Communist newspaper, recently carried an article which pointed out that the nationwide small arms training schools which were conducted during the last war were being reactivated and that they were open "...to all U. S. citizens who wish to educate themselves in the intelligent use of rifles and pistols." (9)

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*The Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

Nor can any valid inference regarding a stronger possibility of Communist attempts at sabotage in certain sections of the country be drawn from the numerical concentration of Party members in those localities. Through the use of modern transportation facilities, it is now possible to go from one coast to the other in a matter of hours. It is in such a situation that the Communist Party, USA, can effectively use its nationwide apparatus to render "on the spot" assistance by providing local transportation, hide-outs, etc., to Communists from other parts of the country intent on sabotage.

While it has been necessary to include the membership figures of the Communist Party, USA, in this analysis, it cannot be emphasized too strongly that the question of mere numbers in relation to sabotage is not necessarily a decisive consideration. It must always be remembered that a few men, or even a single individual with the right sabotage material and some technical ability can do tremendous damage. The important considerations are how determined, well-trained and strongly motivated are the members of the Communist Party, USA, and how many opportunities they will have to commit sabotage.

Nonphysical Sabotage

Thus far, this analysis has been limited to evaluating the capability of the Communist Party, USA, to conduct physical sabotage, i.e., the destruction in whole or in part of any material, premises or utilities bearing on the national security and defense of the United States or producing harmful conditions which would make necessary work impossible. Mention must now be made of its potentialities for conducting nonphysical sabotage, i.e., the disruption of internal activities in the United States by all means short of physical sabotage.

The different types of nonphysical sabotage which the Communist Party, USA, can be expected to attempt are too numerous to even attempt to enumerate. For this reason, and because of their wide scope and variety, only the use of industrial strikes and slowdowns as a form of nonphysical sabotage has been treated in some detail, while other types of nonphysical sabotage have been merely indicated to illustrate their wide variety and scope.

Strikes and Slowdowns

Among the most effective forms of nonphysical sabotage are industrial strikes and slowdowns. These tactics not only retard or even stop completely the production of supplies vital for military operations, but they also disrupt the economy of the nation and cause considerable social unrest.

Throughout its history, the Communist Party, USA, has never attempted to conceal its aim of gaining control of the American labor movement, particularly the unions in basic industries. While this phase of its activities is unquestionably motivated to some extent by the Party's concept of itself as "the Party of the proletariat," the Communists are also fully aware of the potentialities for nonphysical sabotage inherent in control of a labor union.

The following quotations, selected from the resolutions adopted by the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International in 1928, indicate the explicit Communist realization of the possibility of using strikes as a form of sabotage:

> "Factory and trade union activity must be concentrated primarily in the industries which serve the mobilization for and conduct of war, like the metal industry, the chemical industry, and transport...."
>
> . . . .
>
> "...the Communist Party, giving due and sober consideration to its strength, must march boldly and determinedly at the head of the masses. It must organize demonstrations and strikes against the war policy of the imperialist bourgeoisie, and, at the proper moment, put to the masses the question of the general strike and of still sharper methods of struggle."
>
> . . . .
>
> "An energetic campaign of exposure must be carried on against 'industrial peace,' class collaboration, neutral (nonpolitical) unions and 'company unions' advocated by the reformist trade union leaders, and which, in fact, are measures in the preparation for war." (10)

William Z. Foster, Chairman of the Communist Party, USA, was even more succinct when he wrote in 1932:

> "The Communist Party bases its work directly upon the mills, mines, and factories. Its principle is to make every shop a fortress for Communism....It concentrates its work upon the heavy industries and those of a war character...." (11)

At the Fourteenth National Convention of the Communist Party, USA, in August, 1948, Henry Winston, National Organizational Secretary, re-emphasized the importance of the Communist Party's program of industrial concentration in the following words:

> "The central task before the Party is the fight for shifting the main base of our Party to the working class. *This cannot be done unless we turn the face of the entire Party to the workers in the factories*...."*

• • • • • • •

> "...Concretely, while we must strengthen our base in all industrial states, we must above all shift our main emphasis to such states as Illinois, Ohio, and Michigan and to Western Pennsylvania. While we must strengthen the Party in all basic industries, we must particularly select for major concentration such industries as steel, auto, mining, maritime, electrical and railroad...."

• • • • • • •

> "...the organized strength of the Party must be thrown into the key points of concentration...."

• • • • • • •

> "...we must undertake in all seriousness to strengthen existing shop clubs and build new ones..." (12)

Any attempt to prepare a complete listing of the various industries which the Communist Party, USA, has designated as concentration points would necessitate the inclusion of practically every major industry in each of the forty-eight states. The Party's interest in infiltrating our basic industries includes not only the logical targets and areas specifically mentioned by Winston, but also less obvious ones such as the tobacco industry in Virginia, the textile industry in Georgia and the meat packing industry in Iowa and Nebraska.

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*The underlined words are italicized in the original.

During recent years, the Communist Party, USA, has suffered serious reversals in its attempts to infiltrate and gain control of the American trade union movement. As a result of hearings held by the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) during 1949 and 1950, the following unions either withdrew from the CIO, or were expelled by the CIO because of their adherence to the Communist Party line:

International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers;
United Office and Professional Workers of America;
United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America;
United Public Workers of America;*
Food, Tobacco, Agricultural and Allied Workers of America;*
National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards;

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*Now part of the Distributive, Processing and Office Workers of America (DPOWA). A proposal to merge the DPOWA with the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union - CIO was approved by the CIO National Office in May, 1953.

International Fur and Leather Workers Union;
International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union;
American Communications Association;
International Fishermen and Allied Workers of America;*
United Farm Equipment and Metal Workers of America.**

Although no longer affiliated with the CIO, locals of some of these unions still hold bargaining rights for the employees of some of our largest factories. As can be seen from their titles, these unions represent, among others, workers in the electrical, mining, maritime and food industries, whose continued productivity would be essential in the event of a national emergency.

In its efforts to strengthen its position in our basic industries, the Communist Party, USA, has stressed in recent years, the policy of colonization, i.e., attempting to place its members in selected basic industries. Henry Winston, in his report to the Party's Fourteenth National Convention in 1948, listed as one of the "specific tasks of concentration":

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*Now part of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.

**Now part of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America.

> "To convince a selected number of comrades now employed in light industries, and from among white-collar and professional workers, veterans, and students – men and women – to secure work in basic industry." (13)

Shortly thereafter, the following classified advertisement appeared in the Daily Worker, an east coast Communist newspaper:

> "ATTENTION COLLEGE GRADUATES: Best way to help working class is at the machine. Get a job in a factory. Machine Branch, Queens County, CP." (14)

While no mass exodus of Communist housewives, students or professional workers from their present jobs into basic industry has been evidenced as a result of this policy, there have been some instances reported where individual Communists have acceded to the Party's instructions. In 1949, it was reported that two students had withdrawn from a midwestern university on instructions from a Communist functionary and were attempting to secure employment in industry. In 1952 a group of Communists in California were reported to have agreed to give up the professional type jobs they held and seek employment in basic industries, even though this change would entail a financial loss.

The Party's colonization policy admittedly has obvious limitations, since many of its members are simply not qualified by training or experience for employment in basic industries under ordinary conditions. In a period of

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national emergency, however, when many of the requirements for industrial employment are necessarily relaxed, the possibility of an attempted influx of Communists into our basic industries must be anticipated, since they have been thoroughly indoctrinated on the importance of this phase of Communist activity.

Finally, the mere fact that the Communist Party, USA, even attempts to dictate the employment of its members is a clear indication of the extent of its authority and control over them.

The effectiveness of strikes and slowdowns as means of nonphysical sabotage is increased by the extremely complex nature of our system of industrial production. In many cases, a strike in one manufacturing plant will effectively stop production in many factories across the nation. The seventy-six day strike at the Allis-Chalmers plant, West Allis, Wisconsin, in the early part of 1941, during the period of the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact, is an excellent example of this problem. At that time our nation was expanding its defense production and Allis-Chalmer held defense contracts amounting to approximately $40,000,000. By stopping production at Allis-Chalmers, this strike curtailed the production of destroyers and military aircraft and retarded the expansion of the steel, aluminum, lead and chemical industries which were awaiting the receipt of production equipment. Its effects were felt not only throughout our entire country but even as far away as the Panama Canal, for which Allis-Chalmers was also manufacturing essential equipment.

It is significant that the Subversive Activities Control Board, after extensive hearings regarding the over-all activities of the Communist Party, USA, concluded that the Party:

> "... instigated a strike at Allis-Chalmers in order to slow down the production of war materials for Great Britain, then at war with the Soviet Union's then ally, Germany...." (15)

Frequently too, a strike or slowdown in one section of a production line can curtail the productive capacity of an entire factory. This means that, in some cases, a relatively few Communists employed in one section of a large manufacturing plant may be in a position to retard production to an extent far out of proportion to their numerical strength.

The Communist Party, USA, recently instructed its members who are employed in basic industries to discontinue all Communist Party activity and not to discuss the issue of Communism with their fellow employees. In some cases the Party has considered employment in a basic industry as sufficient justification to assign its members so employed to the underground apparatus. It has also instructed those of its members who are labor union officials to resign, formally, from the Communist Party by writing a letter to that effect, so that they would be able to sign the non-Communist affidavit required by the Taft-Hartley Law. The obvious purpose of these security measures is to insure that as many Communists as possible continue their employment in basic industries, so that their services will be available to the Party at some future date.

In August, 1950, William Z. Foster made it clear that the Communist Party, USA, will not hesitate to attempt to use strikes and slowdowns as a form of sabotage. His motive in urging the American labor movement to "guard the right to strike" is evident from his attempt to explain the reason for the Party's insistence on labor's right to strike at the present time, as contrasted with Communist support of the no-strike pledge during the last World War (after the invasion of Russia by Germany):

> "In World War II the workers came forward voluntarily and spontaneously with a national and general no-strike pledge - a pledge that was most militantly supported by the Communists. The workers took and kept this no-strike pledge because they realized that the great democratic war against Hitler fascism was their fight and that it had to be won at any cost....
>
> "But in the present imperialist war,* there will be quite a different situation. It will be more like during the imperialist World War I, throughout which the workers struck freely and rejected all attempts to take away their right to strike...."
>
> . . . .
>
> "The workers and their allies, in this most crucial situation, face a twofold task:
>
> "First, they need to strive to bring this unjust, imperialist war to a conclusion by insisting that United States troops be withdrawn from Korea. As the Communist Party has pointed out, the true interest of the working class and the American people requires that not a man, not a dollar, not a gun should be devoted to this war.

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*The Korean War.

> "Second, while fighting for peace, the workers need also to defend...their right to strike...
>
> "These two basic tasks are inseparable; they are part of one another, and neither can be fulfilled without accomplishing the other." (16)

Wherever possible, the Communist Party, USA, can be expected to endeavor to disguise Communist-inspired strikes whose actual purpose is sabotage as legitimate labor disputes. Every effort will be made to conceal all traces of Communist influence and any such strikes will ostensibly be the result of legitimate labor-management disputes over wages, hours, working conditions, etc. It may even be expected that the Party will attempt to convince the workers that by striking during a national emergency they are actually showing their patriotism. The following is an example of this type of Communist propaganda:

> "The oil companies* are concerned with making a dollar first, last and all the time. That's for sure.
>
> "...They thrive on wars and crises....Their talk about production to defend the country is strictly for suckers.
>
> "The same goes for the steel companies.* They too have an enormous stake in the war program, and have used it to coin enormous profits. But they know there's no real emergency facing the country....
>
> "...Labor will make a mistake every time it credits the profiteering corporations with patriotic motives.

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*This quotation is from an editorial comment on the strikes in the steel and oil industries during the early part of 1952.

> "And it will make a mistake every time it lets itself get euchered into a position where it sacrifices its interests for a war program engineered and promoted by these very same corporations.
>
> "The patriotic course for labor is to fight for its wage demands and for its unions. That will help millions of families get some of the necessities of life and will be a blow against a war program which benefits only a few giant corporations.
>
> "Striking workers need make no apology for their patriotism. And by associating their immediate demands and needs with the cause of peace, they will be rendering an even greater service to their country. By fighting for peace they can help save their country from the disaster of war for the greater glory of profiteering corporations. It's the steel and oil trusts, their profits stained with the blood and sweat of war and exploitation, that have the explaining to do." (17)

Although the question of Communist infiltration into industry has been treated in connection with the use of strikes and slowdowns as forms of nonphysical sabotage, the employment of Communists in our basic industries also increases the probability of attempts at physical sabotage.

Other Types of Nonphysical Sabotage

In addition to attempting to instigate industrial strikes and slowdowns, it can also be expected that the Communist Party, USA, will attempt to disrupt the internal activities of our nation in numerous other ways.

Attempts will probably be made to exploit the legitimate grievances of minority racial and nationality groups in an effort to incite disturbances.

False rumors about military defeats, exaggerated casualty lists and claims of military blunders may be used to weaken the morale and loyalty of our armed forces. Allegations of corruption in government, wartime profiteering and reports of horrible new weapons to be used against our cities may be circulated to confuse and demoralize the civilian population. Law enforcement and investigative agencies could be flooded with spurious complaints of sabotage or espionage activity or reports of the sighting of enemy ships or aircraft so that time and manpower would be wasted on fruitless investigations.

These few examples are by no means a complete listing of the various tactics which could be used by the Communist Party, USA, in attempting nonphysical sabotage. It is felt, however, that they do illustrate the wide field toward which the activities of Party members could be directed.

The purpose of this type of nonphysical sabotage would be to create, if possible, a state of complete social chaos in the United States, in the hope that such a situation would weaken our civilian and military resistance.

Since the instruments for conducting nonphysical sabotage are, for the most part, the written and the spoken word, the following summary of Communist activities and plans in the propaganda field has been included.

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," issued by the Committee on Un-American Activities of the U.S. House of Representatives in May, 1951, lists a total of 205 different publications.

While some of these are now defunct and a few are controlled by organizations other than the Communist Party, USA, and its front groups, a review of the remaining titles indicates the extent and importance of this phase of Communist activity.

These publications are directed to the German, Rumanian, Greek, Slovene, Finnish, Jewish, Polish, Lithuanian, Slovak, Italian, Macedonian-Bulgarian, Croation, Negro, Czechoslovakian, Serbian, Hungarian, Ukranian, Esthonian, Portuguese, and Carpatho-Russian minority groups, as well as to the general American public. In addition to their national and racial minority orientation, some are also specifically adapted to the intelligentsia, youth, farmers, industrial workers, women and various professional groups.

Over and above these publications, during recent years the Communist Party, USA, has been caching mimeograph machines, typewriters and supplies of paper and ink throughout the country for future use. In some localities it has even purchased and hidden printing presses and trained its members in their operation.

Thus, even if the well-known Party publications are discontinued or attempts to publish them under different names or to merge them with other publications are unsuccessful, the Communist Party, USA, fully intends to continue its propaganda activities if at all possible.

It must also be anticipated that Party members will add their word-of-mouth support to the seditious written propaganda which the Party will attempt to distribute surreptitiously.

ROLE OF THE SOVIET UNION

Although this monograph represents an attempt to evaluate the sabotage plans and potential of the Communist Party, USA, it would not be complete without some mention, however brief, of the role which could be played by the Soviet Union in directing sabotage attempts by the Communist Party, USA.

During the last World War, Soviet officials had access to many of our manufacturing plants in connection with inspecting and expediting Lend-Lease material. The knowledge they gained of the location, layout, transportation facilities and productive capacity of these plants is undoubtedly still in possession of the Soviet Union.

In addition to this information regarding our production facilities, the Soviet Union is also in possession of a considerable amount of information regarding many of our most important public utilities. In 1946, for example, a group of ten Russian public utility engineers, all specialists in various phases on municipal planning, visited the United States from March until October. While here they visited New York, Buffalo, Philadelphia, Washington, D. C., Richmond, Norfolk, Detroit, Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Louis, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and San Diego. In each of these cities they studied the installation of gas works, water supply systems, sewage systems and road construction. They took copious notes and photographs and in some cases were furnished blueprints of the installations they inspected.

The extent of their interest in these installations may be seen from the "tentative program" suggested to the mayor of one city that they visited which included, among others, the following points:

"I. Gas Supply

1. General information regarding gas supply of cities (sources, types of consumption).
2. Operation of gas plants.
3. Gas storage.
4. Maintenance of gas systems. Emergency repair service.
5. Technical conditions for the construction of gas supply systems.
6. Planning of pipe lines and different constructions in the field of gas supply.
7. Construction of gas pipe lines in cities and outside cities.
    (a) earth moving works
    (b) pipe welding
    (c) anti-corrosion protection
    (d) crossings by highways, railroads, etc.
8. Gas appliance at home (design, productions, maintenance). Pipe lines inside buildings.

"II. Water Supply and Sewerage

1. Operation of water supply stations.
2. Purifying and utilization of sewage.
3. Maintenance of water supply and sewerage systems.
4. Technical codes for planning water supply and sewerage systems.

5. Construction and equipment of purifying stations.

6. Construction of water supply and sewage systems (construction methods, attachments).

"III. Roads

1. Types of city roads (streets and sidewalks).

2. Foundation and pavements (concrete, asphalt, etc.).

3. Planning and arrangement of squares.

4. Road crossings at different levels.

5. Technical conditions for the city road building.

6. Road building (mechanization, methods). Concrete and asphalt-concrete plants.

7. Bridges inside populated places, quays.

8. Underground collectors.

9. Maintenance and construction of gutter ways.

10. Traffic regulation."

To cite another example, in 1946 and again in 1947, a group of Russian engineers visited the Tennessee Valley Authority installations at Knoxville and Chattanooga. The purpose of these visits was to permit them to study carrier-current communications, telemetering, and protection equipment for power transmission lines. During these visits they questioned TVA employees regarding the maintenance and operation of the TVA generating plants.

While none of the facilities which these Soviet missions inspected was considered confidential, and while they may have been motivated by entirely legitimate purposes, their potentialities for obtaining detailed strategic information invaluable to the Soviet Union are too obvious to need further comment.

[redacted]

[redacted]

In the event of future hostilities, the information already in possession of the Soviet Union would be invaluable in planning sabotage operations which the Communist Party, USA, would then attempt to carry out.

Another possibility which must be kept in mind is that the Soviet Union may attempt to land foreign-trained saboteurs illegally in the United States. These individuals would not necessarily have to be Russians or even citizens of the "People's Democracies" but could be Communists recruited from almost any nation in the world.

In evaluating this possibility, it is illuminating to consider the activities of the International Fishermen and Allied Workers of America (IFAWA). This union was chartered by the CIO in 1939 and was awarded jurisdiction over fishermen and allied workers engaged in all branches of the fishing industry on the West Coast and the Territory of Alaska. In July, 1950, this union became a division of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), at which time those of its locals which were anti-Communist withdrew from the IFAWA and functioned autonomously. In August, 1950, the CIO revoked the charter of the IFAWA and at the same time expelled the IFAWA and the ILWU from the CIO because these unions adhered to the policies of the Communist Party, USA.

Since many deep-sea fishing vessels carry enough fuel for a 2,000 mile round-trip voyage it is not inconceivable that they could rendezvous in the Pacific Ocean with foreign submarines or surface vessels. Foreign saboteurs could then be transferred to the fishing vessel which could disembark them at some deserted spot on the West Coast.

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Many of these ships also visit Mexican ports where they take on aliens as deck hands before returning to the United States. These aliens, as seamen, are granted visas which permit them to visit any place in the United States and which are valid for twenty-nine days, or as long as the vessel remains in port. Although these seamen are screened by the Immigration and Naturalization Service on their arrival in the United States, the possibility of an attempt to effect the entry of potential saboteurs by this method must be taken into consideration.

The special interest which the Communist Party, USA, has always devoted to the maritime industry in general is best explained by the potentialities of this industry not only for sabotage but also as part of an international Communist courier system.

The possibility also exists that the Communist Party, USA, may attempt to use sabotage devices developed by the Soviet Union or any of its satellite nations which could be smuggled into the United States. These could range from simple incendiary or explosive devices to materials for bacteriological warfare directed against crops, livestock or human beings and possibly even atomic weapons smuggled in part by part and assembled here.

In this connection it is only necessary to recall that in 1947, a sardine can discovered on an American ship docked in Philadelphia was found to contain a number of pamphlets printed in Spanish. Some of these publications were ordinary Communist propaganda. The others, however, which bore innocuous titles suggesting they dealt with various sports, contained instructions for the manufacture of explosives and the best means of sabotage by arson and explosives.

Similarly, in 1949, government authorities in Spain seized explosives and incendiary devices in the possession of Communist saboteurs who had been sent there. Among the material seized was a bomb suitable for use either as a land mine or for general demolition work which was determined to be of German origin.

These incidents dramatically illustrate the international character of the Communist conspiracy and the willingness of its members throughout the world to engage in sabotage to promote its aims.

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FACTORS LIMITING THE SABOTAGE POTENTIAL OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

As opposed to the considerations which make the Communist Party, USA, a sabotage threat to the United States, there are other factors which limit its sabotage potential.

As a result of investigations conducted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, 94 Communist leaders throughout the United States and in the Territory of Hawaii have been indicted for conspiring to teach and advocate the overthrow of the Government by force and violence in violation of the Smith Act of 1940. Of this number 56 have already been convicted after trials held in New York, Los Angeles, Baltimore, Honolulu and Pittsburgh. Fourteen are now in prison serving sentences, thirty-seven are free on bond and five are in a fugitive status. A Smith Act trial is now in progress in Seattle and future trials are scheduled to be held in St. Louis, Detroit and Philadelphia.

This legal action has deprived the Communist Party, USA, of the services of its national leaders; disarranged its secondary leadership; and thrown the rank-and-file members, left without the guidance to which they are accustomed, into a state of confusion and worry. Moreover, the time and funds which the Party has been required to expend on the legal defense of its leaders have had to be diverted from other activities to the detriment of the over-all Communist program. The futile attempts of the Party to justify the flight of eight of its leaders, of whom five are still fugitives, in the face of prosecution and imprisonment for their Communist activities have helped to demonstrate clearly to the American public that, contrary to its protestations, the Communist Party, USA, is not a legal, orthodox political party but rather a subversive conspiracy completely foreign to the American way of life.

The action taken by the CIO in expelling from its federation the unions which were Communist-dominated is clear evidence that the labor union movement in the United States is aware of the menace of Communism. Management, through the publicity given the problem of Communism by the U. S. Chamber of Commerce and numerous trade journals as well as measures taken to increase plant protection, has shown that it too recognizes the gravity of the problem.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation will, of course, continue to investigate the activities of the Communist Party, USA, and its members in accordance with the Presidential Directives which outline our jurisdiction. Particular attention is being given to the Communist underground apparatus and the attempts of the Party and its members to infiltrate basic industries. As in the past, the results of these investigations will be made available to other interested Government agencies. Additional evidence gathered on those Communists who assume the leadership of the Party to replace those who are imprisoned will be furnished the Department of Justice for possible further prosecutive action.

CONCLUSION

The problem of sabotage is a difficult one with which to cope. The recent sabotage by unarmed civilians in Eastern Germany, even when threatened by the Soviet Army, graphically illustrates the comparative ease with which it can be accomplished.

The existence of the Communist Party, USA, means that, in the event of an outbreak of hostilities, the Soviet Union will have the support of a corps of approximately 24,000 potential saboteurs directed by a nationwide organization. These individuals have been conditioned to accept sabotage against their own country not only as justified but as a duty, if it will assist the Soviet Union. Most important, their motivation will be an ideological one which rivals religious fanaticism in intensity. The question of the possibility of successful Communist sabotage activity is, therefore, not idle speculation but prudent foresight.

The best answer to this question may well have been given by the Irish statesman John Philpot Curran. In a speech in 1790 - twenty-eight years before the birth of Karl Marx - Curran said, almost as though prophesying the present threat of the world Communist movement:

> "It is the common fate of the indolent to see their rights become a prey to the active. The condition upon which

God hath given liberty to man is eternal vigilance;* which condition, if he break, servitude is at once the consequence of his crime and the punishment of his guilt."

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*Usually quoted as "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

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